20¢ AUGUST 21, 1950

New Republic

MIDSUMMER BOOK NUMBER

Reviews by: Boyd H. Bode J. Bronowski Y. H. Krikorian
James R. Newman M. L. Rosenthal George N. Shuster

DRIFTING TOWARD WAR WITH CHINA

AN EDITORIAL

CAN THE ATLANTIC COUNTRIES UNITE?

By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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WHO ENGINEERED THE DEFEAT OF SEN. CLAUDE PEPPER IN THE FLORIDA PRIMARIES?

What prominent American family paid the check for a large share of the expenses of the smear campaign against Claude Pepper? How was this outstanding liberal Senator, who has held his seat in the Senate for 14 years with both dignity and distinction, jockeyed into the shameful position of having to defend himself on personal rather than political issues? The tragic defeat of Claude Pepper was masterminded by a highly organized political machine, and financed by one of the most famous families in American industry.

(For answer, see page 5, in the May 15th issue of the *New Republic.*)

WHAT IS EUROPE'S REACTION TO KOREA?

Has our intervention in Korea won us new friends in Europe? Or has our prestige suffered because of our obvious unpreparedness? Which members of the Atlantic Community can we count on actively to support us and our democracy—and which had we better discount right now?

(For answer, see page 9, in the July 31st issue of the *New Republic.*)

WHICH NATION CONTROLS OUR DESTINY IN ASIA?

The attitudes and action of *one* independent nation in Asia, to a great extent, will determine the effectiveness of our future world position. If we alienate this one nation, we lose our last friendship in Asia—and probably our last chance to win support from other Asiatic countries. Can we save both face and friendship by a constructive, forthright Far-Eastern policy?

(For answer, see page 3, in the August 7th issue of the *New Republic.*)

If you are a regular reader of the New Republic, you know the answers to these and other critical questions which vitally affect your welfare and your way of life. If not, you'll want to use the coupon below to make certain you don't miss a single issue!

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New Republic

CONTENTS FOR AUGUST 21, 1950

5 Drifting toward War with China: An Editorial
6 The Week:
6 Malik and the Big Lie
7 Wallace Is Out
7 Dirty Politics in Idaho
7 For Internal Security
8 Trouble in the AEC
8 McCarthy vs. the Press
8 Herblock Cartoon
9 Not Equal
9 Outside America
10 Can the Atlantic Countries Unite? by Michael Straight
12 A Hard Look at US Steel by Inge Kaiser
16 Harold L. Ickes

MIDSUMMER BOOK SECTION

17 Albert Einstein by J. Bronowski
18 Mid-century Poets by M. L. Rosenthal
19 Liberal Education and the Great Tradition by Boyd H. Bode
21 Allegorical Melodrama by James R. Newman
22 Judaism Reconsidered by George N. Shuster
23 Progress as Experience by Y. H. Krikorian

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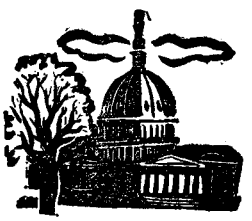
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1950, IN THE U. S. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 20¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

YOU CAN HEAR lots of "preventive war" talk in Washington these days, and everywhere else in the country, too. It's something for the Russians to think about in assessing the mood of the American people. But such talk is frowned upon by the top policy-makers in the government. The President and his advisers, it may be reported, are firmly opposed to any such idea. In the first place, they don't believe there is such a thing as a "preventive war." In the second place, they still hope for peace and they see nothing to be gained by throwing the first bomb.



The military people who think it would be wiser to "get the jump" on the Kremlin forget that the United States is not acting alone and that it cannot abandon or ignore Western Europe, our terribly important and terribly unprepared ally.

Serious suggestions are being made that thought be given to establishing a United Nations line, the crossing of which by Russia would be regarded as an attack upon the United Nations. But such hard-and-fast ultimata are still a long way off.

It was no accident when the Army, the other day, called in the Washington reporters and showed them a picture of what it calls a 1950-model Russian mortar shell, picked up in Korea. This was in answer to Malik's assertion that the Korean Communists had no supplies from Russia except old weapons sold them before Russia "withdrew" from Korea in 1948. The Army's action was an example of the new policy of "tough propaganda" in which we shall no longer worry about hurting the Russians' feelings. On the contrary, we intend from now on to dig out all the facts we can about Soviet aggression, in any part of the world, and put them on the record as promptly and fully as possible.

Last week's military news from Korea brought fresh hopes to Washington. There's talk now from responsible military leaders that the fighting may be over by Christmas or soon after, and there is more confidence that Russia will not try some new adventure this year. The one exception to that is Indo-China, about which there is grave concern. No peace is in sight in that unfortunate country, and the fighting is expected to become heavier this fall. But it is doubted that the Russians or the Chinese Communists will openly show their hands.

With all the inevitability-of-war talk heard in so many places, it is encouraging to find in the government a number of responsible officials who still believe that war may be averted, that if the West is sufficiently strong, resolute and intelligent it can win the cold war without becoming lost in a general war. That is the basis on which the President is operating.

There's no blinking the fact that the struggle will be long, bitter and costly. But who would win a full-scale war? The men in the Kremlin don't have an answer to that one. And perhaps they will not light the fuse until they are pretty confident of the results.

The target date of June 30, 1952, for ending the Marshall Plan has been all but abandoned. The new military programs must be underpinned with economic aid from the United States, and it isn't true, as some have written, that American military spending will close the dollar gap.

Some Marshall Plan countries may be in a worse dollar position as a result of developments now getting under way. Among these are Italy, Germany and Greece. Their dollar needs will be as large as ever, and they will be buying in an inflated market. And, unlike some other European countries, they do not stand to benefit, directly or indirectly, from raw-material purchases by the United States in the Far East and Africa. Britain, France and Belgium will benefit, but their military requirements will cost them more dollars, too.

Gordon Gray's report to the President on future dollar problems was nearly

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completed when the North Koreans struck. He had to scrap it almost entirely. Now he has about completed another report, which is not being prepared for publication and will not be published unless so ordered by the President.

Gray's economists confess that the outlook is too confusing now to make very firm predictions, but they are fairly certain of one thing: the dollar problem is still with us.

At his press conference the other day, Secretary of State Acheson was asked whether he thought the Russians would stay in the United Nations. He said he didn't think he would try to do any prognosticating on that subject. He was reminded, he said, of the story Charles E. Bohlen, American Minister in Paris, tells about "famous last words." Bohlen's list of "famous last words" includes these: "Liquor doesn't affect me" and "I am a Russian expert."

Notes. The Washington press corps is generally delighted with the appointment of Charles Van Devander, Washington correspondent of the New York *Post*, as publicity director for the Democratic National Committee. Van Devander knows the problems of reporters from long experience in covering national politics. And he is a man of fine intelligence. . . . It's pleasant to report some kind words about a man who has received more than his share of harsh criticism. When Averell Harriman was in Korea, he asked John J. Muccio, the American Ambassador, if he had any message for the President. "Tell him I think he is magnificent," Muccio replied. . . . It's significant that the Chinese Communists have never made a request to Washington for recognition. . . . Louis Bean, the predictor, says the GOP will make a comeback in the November elections but that Senator Taft will be defeated. Bean is not alone in making such predictions. . . . After all the double-talk about the Harriman-MacArthur conference, one thing is still clear: Harry Truman means to be President and to make the decisions himself. . . . Despite the Senate's dismal performance re Spain, there still are *military* people who doubt Spain's importance on the allied side.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Whom Are We Fighting?

SIR: In its issue of July 24, *Life* publishes an editorial, "Johnson or Acheson?" which concludes as follows:

> The country can have no confidence in the conduct of our struggle against communism in Asia as long as Acheson is Secretary of State. Acheson should go.

If *Life* implies that our defense of the South Korean Republic is a "struggle against communism" it is only confusing an issue which we should vigorously clarify. We are not shooting North Koreans because they are Communists, but because they launched an aggressive war, and the United Nations has recommended that its members join in resisting this aggression. We don't use our Army against our own Communists, and there would be even less reason to use it against those in North Korea if they stayed inside their frontiers.

If we permit the world to believe that we are out to destroy Communism with our military might, we shall make the greatest blunder in our history. The United Nations will never endorse such a program. We have recognized all of the Communist states of Europe, and the free nations of Asia and most of our European allies have recognized—or will soon recognize—Communist China. The Communists outside of Korea must be assured that as long as they stay within their frontiers they can remain at peace with us as have all the other Communist states since their inception.

Our greatest danger is not from a few divisions of North Korean soldiers; it is rather that we may become a victim of our own fear and hatred of Communism. If, for example, without even the moral support of the United Nations or our traditional allies, we initiate military operations against Communist China, or follow a defeated Korean army into Soviet territory, our country may be ruined, whether, on the battlefield, we win, lose or draw.

To avoid such a disaster, the press should try to keep our people as calm and clearheaded as are our allies in Western Europe. They live, so to speak, right under the guns of the Red Army, and the West Berliners have been literally surrounded by it for five years. Our allies on the Continent would be the first victims of any major Communist aggression, but they are neither preaching, nor planning for, a Holy War against Communism. They seek only to defend themselves against a possible attack from the East. If the Russians come to believe that we are out to destroy Communism in either Asia or Europe, an attack on Western Europe would be Russia's logical move. Our allies therefore wish that we, sitting in relative safety beyond the seas, would not let our crusading anti-Communist zeal get out of hand. . . .

The more one reads of recent events in China, the more certain he becomes that the conservative American press will never understand how the Chinese Communists came to power, and can never advise our nation how best to deal with them. Editors so befuddled as to believe that the Truman administration is committed to a socialist "revolution" in the US are incapable of recognizing a revolutionary movement when they see one. . . .

It is also disturbing to observe how readily our press—with a few honorable exceptions—combines its war against the North Koreans with its long and dismal war against the Democratic Administration. Because of events in Korea, Acheson must go, and, according to *Life's* editorial, Johnson should go as well, were he not merely carrying out the orders of the President. To be consistent *Life* would demand that Truman go too, but for the fact that he can be impeached only by a Democratic-controlled House. As the President cannot be reached, the clamor goes up for the heads of some high Democratic officials. . . . The American people will never believe that this clamor is completely divorced from political considerations.

To prevent any possible misunderstanding, let me say that I am not writing as a Democrat, for I belong to no party and have frequently criticized much of the Administration's domestic program. I am writing, instead, as an anti-Communist who shares the fear of Professor Fairbank of Harvard, that "after setting out to fight Communism in Asia, the American people will be obliged in the end to fight the peoples of Asia." If that catastrophe should develop, those who are leading us in that direction will have earned for themselves a very unenviable place in American history.

Mills College, Oakland, Calif. GLENN E. HOOVER

Lives and Property

SIR: Napoleon's troops had entered Russia. French soldiers were on Russian soil.

Czar Alexander's personal councillors called a meeting of the biggest merchants and landowners.

There was fear and panic.

As the Czar entered the hall a merchant walked up to him and bowed to the floor.

"Your Majesty," said this merchant, "our property and lives are at your disposal. Take our property and our lives."

This story is told by Tolstoy in *War and Peace.*

I was reminded of it when Bernard M. Baruch recommended complete mobilization.

Woodridge, N. Y. MARTIN WOLFSON

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VOLUME 123, NUMBER 8, ISSUE 1864, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 21, 1950 **New Republic**

DRIFTING TOWARD WAR WITH CHINA

IN THE INSTANT at which aggression strikes, the policies of any nation may move out of control. The swiftness with which control is restored is a test for any democracy.

In defining our actions and our aims in Korea and Formosa, we have not yet met that test. Within the United States Government, and between the United States and the United Nations, there is no political direction of our military efforts. Each day that General MacArthur pursues without direction an independent political course threatens the support of the West by Asia, the unity of the Western allies, and the existence of world peace.

As theatre commander, General MacArthur was given a free hand in holding Korea. Yet even in Korea, political decisions are involved which MacArthur is not qualified to make. For example, MacArthur has employed B-29's in area bombing, destroying cities and factories as well as warehouses and railway yards. These 600-ton devastation raids may slow down the North Korean armies; but Asiatics, who think of the B-29's as a weapon of indiscriminate destruction, see in these raids the obliteration of modern Korea, with its opportunity for higher living standards. It is not clear that the United Nations contemplated this action, or that a UN high command would not conclude that the military gains of area bombing in Korea were outweighed by its political costs.

Far harder decisions are now imminent. MacArthur as UN commander can fight his way back through Korea or attempt amphibious landings on the east and west coasts of North Korea, close to the Manchurian border. The first course may lead to a campaign as long and costly as the two-year drive through Italy. The second involves the political future of the 38th Parallel. Will Russia and China fight to hold North Korea? Is the risk worth while? MacArthur cannot decide: who can and will decide?

If the lines stabilize in Korea, negotiation becomes possible. If the Russians intend to hold North Korea at all costs, then negotiation is the only end to the fighting. Who can negotiate now and on what basis? The Berlin blockade was settled partly because Malik and Jessup were able to meet in secret, keeping only the British and French governments informed. In contrast, 25 nations or more are directly involved in the Korean war today. America may have earned the right to speak for them. If today the North Koreans should propose the withdrawal of all troops, and elections for all Korea under UN supervision, could we accept?

In Formosa, the situation has moved very far out of control and is far more dangerous.

The Russians charge the United States with intervention in a civil war in Korea. It is a lying charge in Korea, but in Formosa it is true. The President justified our intervention as a necessary move in protecting the US forces "performing their lawful and necessary functions" in Korea. There is, however, no moral, legal or political justification for long continuing our stand. Yet MacArthur, exploiting his new advantage to the limit and acting without authority, has moved into Formosa, establishing direct liaison with Chiang Kai-shek. He has already shouldered aside the civilian authority and policies of the US Government. In supplying Chiang with fuel, he may facilitate a violation of the President's order forbidding Nationalist bombing raids on the Chinese mainland. MacArthur has acted without any recognition of his subordination to America's political aims, or of his responsibilities as the military servant of the UN, whose policies on China are in even sharper contrast to his own.

This week or next, the Communist junks may sail for Formosa. Then we shall be at war with 400 million Chinese. Fifty Communist divisions, combat-hardened, well-equipped, marching on foot and living off the land, may advance to engage Western soldiers around China's vast perimeter, from Korea through Southeast Asia.

A war between China and America could force India into the Communist camp; break up the growing unity of the Western nations; rend apart the United Nations; and lead to a general revolt against the West throughout Asia. A war without purpose, justification or end would certainly sap America's one irreplaceable asset—our faith in ourselves. Yet the well-publicized torture and execution of the 2,000 American citizens who remain in China might drive us, in blind anger, into a futile bloodletting, draining our best resources without limit, while the resources of Russia remained untouched.

The Chinese Communists have worked for years to persuade their people that America is "the paper tiger."

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They are committed with good reason to the view that Formosa is and must be a part of China, subject to the government that rules China. For Russia, the glittering prizes of a Chinese-American war are offset only by the knowledge that the war might quickly spread.

Can we do no more than to hope that for these reasons the Communists will not close the jaws of the trap into which we have blundered?

President Truman in intervening in Formosa declared:

> The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations.

So he offers us three roads to action—if we are spared war this summer.

First, if "the restoration of security in the Pacific" means the securing of UN forces in Korea—and what more can it mean?—the justification for the 7th Fleet to patrol the straits between Formosa and China ends. The rocky bluffs of Formosa's east coast cannot be scaled even by the Chinese Communists. The west coast offers one good beach which half-a-million Nationalist soldiers can hold—if they *choose*. If we select this road we disentangle ourselves from direct intervention in China's affairs, and return to international law regarding China's representation in the UN.

Second, negotiations for a peace settlement with Japan can be started at once by the nations of the Far Eastern Commission. These nations cannot write into a treaty the myth that Formosa can be alienated from China. If they should try, eventual war with China would be inevitable. However, the treaty makers, in secret session, may find a face-saving device to disentangle Japan and the West from Formosa.

Third, disentanglement can be accomplished by bringing Formosa to the UN as a threat to the peace. The Soviet delegate will veto any decision which provides UN jurisdiction over Formosa. The Chinese Nationalist delegate will veto any decision which undermines the unlimited control of Formosa by Chiang Kai-shek. The UN can hardly assert that Formosa is fit for trusteeship, being unable to govern itself; nor can it determine Formosa's final status before a Japanese treaty is written. But the UN can insist on an orderly settlement of Formosa's future. The threat to the peace is urgent, the responsibility of the UN is clear, and if debate involves some measure of defeat and humiliation for America, that is a price we must pay for the errors into which the China Lobby has forced us.

Out of Formosa could come the threat of world war with tremendous odds against us. The road we pick to disentanglement is less important than the decision to free ourselves from such a situation. Truman must decide whether he is President, or whether the White House is occupied by MacArthur, McCormick, McCarthy and Henry Luce. We cannot continue out of control for long.

THE WEEK

MALIK AND THE BIG LIE

Two weeks of Jacob Malik as president of the UN Security Council have revealed Russia's present game for all the world to see. It is too late for her obstructionist tactics to weaken the UN's military effort in Korea, so the sounding board of Lake Success is being used for worldwide propaganda against the US. Malik and his superiors in the Kremlin have taken over Hitler's philosophy that a big lie has a better chance of succeeding than a small one; and the Soviet spokesman, day after day, has poured out fantastic falsehoods that are on all fours with Hitler's story of how Poland attacked Germany in 1939, Matsuoka's story when Japan seized Manchuria, and Italy's defense of her aggression against Ethiopia.

On August 11, for a characteristic example, Malik insisted that South Korea had started the fighting. But it did so only as the tool of the US, which "perpetrated a gross act of aggression against the Korean people." Our objective is "to transform the Korean people into the slaves of American monopolies." General MacArthur, "representing himself as the deputy of God in Asia," is also to blame. He is "unwilling to return to the United States" and is encouraging the war in order "to excuse his remaining in Asia permanently." The whole regiment is out of step except Malik. The fact that 53 of the United Nations have denounced the aggression by North Korea is "a nauseating and cynical, bandit-like identification of the aggression of the United States, claimants for world mastery, with the symbol of peace and friendship among nations."

The question is often asked whether the Communists believe their own falsehoods. In this case it is pretty safe to guess that they do not. Malik is lying, under orders from his government which often severely punishes its diplomats if they fail, even in impossible tasks. This propaganda is aimed, not at the Security Council but at the masses in Asia. We don't know how effective it is; it would be less effective if we would clear up our own Asiatic policy (see page 5). We do know that the Russian spokesman is infuriating the American people (and especially those with access to television sets) and thereby helping mobilize public opinion behind our war effort. We also know he is alienating every government in the UN that has any freedom of choice.

There is much that can be said in an effective answer to Malik, which was

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not said during the first two weeks of the debate. It is good news that, just as we are now ready to strike hard in a military sense, our counter-offensive on the propaganda front is at last getting under way.

WALLACE IS OUT

Henry Wallace, who is supporting the United States and the United Nations in Korea, has resigned from the Progressive Party, which is not. Although the final break came over this issue, he says he had been considering resigning for some time because the party refused to show any interest in his three major ideas: to strengthen the UN, eliminate trade barriers and help develop "progressive capitalism."

Although many independent observers have long believed that the Progressive Party is wholly subservient to the Communists, Wallace in a radio interview on the Mutual Network several times refused to express an opinion on this point, insisting, "I don't know." He did say, however, "I am very doubtful of the usefulness of the Progressive Party," and added that the war in Korea is actually a struggle with Russia; that the American Communist Party might soon represent "a clear and present danger" to the US; and that he would not at this time sign the Stockholm Pledge. He thinks Stalin has changed greatly since 1948, but he would still like to see a personal meeting between Stalin and Truman. He is concerned lest the United States should alienate the Asiatic millions, and would like to see the West work closely with India and the present Communist government of China.

Wallace has no political plans at present, he told the *New Republic*. He expects, however, to continue the fight for peace to which he has devoted so many years, and is sure that fresh opportunities will arise for useful activity.

How large Wallace's personal following is among the leadership of the Progressive Party has long been in dispute. Light may be thrown on it by the fact that only one other member of the 156-man National Committee of the party has resigned thus far, Professor Thomas Emerson of Yale.

C. B. Baldwin, executive director of the Progressive Party, told the *New Republic* that while the party of course regrets Wallace's action, it will make no difference in current plans. The party expects to be active in at least seven or eight states, including especially New York, Illinois and California. In all, it plans to run about 40 candidates for the national House of Representatives, several for the Senate, and a very large number for the state legislatures, in the states mentioned and Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Wisconsin, Montana, Oregon and Washington. In New York the American Labor Party, affiliated with the Progressive Party, expects to put a complete slate in the field. The chief issue throughout the country will be "peace."

DIRTY POLITICS IN IDAHO

The same tactics that were used against Senators Claude Pepper of Florida and Frank Graham of North Carolina have been employed to add Glen Taylor's name to the list of liberal casualties in the Senate this year. The results of the Idaho primary last week came as a shock to those who believed that Southern rabble-rousing techniques would have little effect when imported to the Northwest. But the Korean war made the Communist issue an easy one for Taylor's opponent, former Democratic Senator D. Worth Clark, who exceeded Taylor's vote by slightly more than 1,000. Taylor had ousted Clark from the Senate in 1944.

The anti-Taylor campaign linked with Communism his third-party venture and his affiliations with certain liberal groups. The *Idaho Daily Statesman*, an ultra-reactionary Republican newspaper, ran a booklet—"The Red Record of Senator Pepper," which was so effective in Florida—in daily instalments under the caption, "A man is known by the company he keeps." Clark and his followers used Taylor's association with Paul Robeson as heavy artillery. The conservative press urged Republicans to vote in the Democratic primary to elect Clark. The fact that 8,000 more votes were cast in the Democratic primary than in the Republican one, in which Senator Henry Dworshak won the nomination for a four-year unexpired term, is evidence that many Republicans took that advice.

FOR INTERNAL SECURITY

President Truman's message asking Congress to take steps to "protect the internal security of the United States" but at the same time "preserve our basic liberties" has been pounced upon by every faction in Congress as confirmation of its own original opinion. The President flatly characterized much of the legislation now pending before Congress as "unnecessary, ineffective, and dangerous," but the House Un-American Activities Committee moved into fast action to report out a bill containing the key provisions of the Mundt-Nixon measure. Within 24 hours of the message, the Senate passed—by unanimous consent and without a single word of debate—three new "internal-security" measures. The following day, Senator Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) incorporated them into a sweeping omnibus Communist-control measure which included all the provisions of the Mundt-Nixon bill.

The President's message recommended that Congress remedy certain defects in our present laws by clarifying and making more definite certain language in the anti-espionage law, by providing an extended statute of limitations for peacetime espionage, by requiring persons who have received instruction from a foreign government or political party in espionage or subversive tactics to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and by giving the President broader authority to establish security regulations for the protection of military bases and other national defense installations.

But Congress was in no mood to listen to warnings. When Majority Leader Scott Lucas (Ill.) asked Senator Pat McCarran, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to consider the President's recommendations in connection with various bills pending before his committee (including the Mundt-Ferguson bill), McCarran replied that there was nothing new in the message and that to do so would only delay passage of the bills.

The day after the President's message, the Senate passed three security measures by "unanimous consent": the "security-risk" bill which would give the heads of 11 sensitive government agencies the power to fire employees on

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security charges (it would give accused employees a right to appeal to the Civil Service Commission, not provided in a similar bill passed by the House); the "espionage" bill, introduced by Senator James Eastland (D, Miss.), which would impose the death penalty or up to 30 years' imprisonment for espionage; and Senator McCarran's extreme immigration measure which would exclude or expel all aliens who are or ever have been members of the Communist Party or of "Communist-front or subversive organizations" listed by the Attorney General.

Senator McCarran then wrapped these three bills into one package. He added the provisions of the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon bill which would require registration of Communists and Communist-front organizations, withhold federal jobs and passports from Communists, require Communists to label their propaganda, and outlaw conspiracies to establish a foreign-dominated dictatorship in the US. He also added the provisions of the Hobbs alien-deportation bill and another bill to ban picketing of federal court buildings.

The House Democrats are working on a similar Communist-control measure which Chairman Emanuel Celler (D, N. Y.) of the House Judiciary Committee said would be "milder" than the Mundt-Nixon bill.

TROUBLE IN THE AEC

The resignation of Carroll Wilson as General Manager of the Atomic Energy Commission was not altogether unexpected. Wilson was a "Lilienthal" man and shared with Lilienthal the administrative concept of "decentralization" in the organization and operation of the Commission's work. It was a concept that annoyed both the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the Congressional Appropriations Committees which, for all their indignation against "bureaucratic controls," always want to keep their own centralized fingers in the bureaucratic pie. Wilson also shared Lilienthal's intense dislike of the curtain of secrecy that Congress insisted must be kept over the entire AEC program.

The dangerous meaning of Wilson's departure and the threats among some members of the Joint Committee that there should be a complete "housecleaning" of Lilienthal supporters, is that Congressional control over the policies and operations of the AEC now becomes firmer than ever. The unanimity of the Joint Committee in supporting Commissioner Gordon Dean, the AEC's new chairman, against Wilson, indicates clearly that the committee is satisfied that its word will be law from now on. That wasn't always true under Lilienthal's chairmanship.

There are a number of disturbing Washington rumors that part of the fight between the Lilienthal regime and the Joint Committee was over what corporations were getting the fat contracts for the Commission's immense operating and constructing business. It is certainly true that Commission business has gone almost exclusively to a little "family" of contractors and that it has been exceedingly difficult for others to enter the magic circle. Lilienthal's explanation was that secrecy requirements insisted upon by Congress made it extremely difficult to bring in new contractors. This is probably true, but there is strong reason to believe that some members of the Joint Committee are becoming restive over the situation, perhaps at the prodding of contractors outside the AEC fold.

In any event, one certainly unfortunate consequence of the Wilson resignation, with its sharp criticism of Commissioner Dean, is that Congressional and military influence over the Commission is sure to become stronger than ever. When the Brickers and Johnsons and Hickenloopers rejoice, the liberal world can only be doubly on guard.

THE WASHINGTON POST

"I've shrewdly managed to get him to join us."

McCARTHY vs. THE PRESS

Senator Joe McCarthy is not going to see the headlines he has enjoyed so long be stolen without a fight by the Korean war, the world crisis and domestic mobilization. Forced from the front pages by more important matters, he is attempting by veiled intimidation to whip the nation's wire services and newspapers back into the McCarthy line.

Here is an example of the resourceful Senator at work:

On August 1, in another of his interminable series of attacks on his favorite target, Owen Lattimore, McCarthy read to the Senate an affidavit signed by one Willy Rudolf Foerster, now of Switzerland, asserting that, in 1938, Mrs. Foerster carried from Japan to the United States a letter written to Lattimore by Dr. Richard Sorge. Sorge was executed by the Japanese as a Russian spy in 1943. Senate press gallery reporters dutifully wrote up the story—after several of their number obliged McCarthy to retract his statement made on the floor that Lattimore was head of the Office of War Information's San Francisco office at the time the letter was allegedly sent. But the Associated Press, in its wisdom, never put the story on the wire.

McCarthy keeps close tabs on his press, and he quickly learned of the AP's omission. With characteristic speed, he wrote and mailed to every daily newspaper in the country—about 1,780 in all—a two-page letter complaining about press coverage of his crusade in general and the AP's handling of the Sorge-letter story in particular. With each letter went a *Congressional Record* reprint of his speech

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on the Foerster affidavit, marked in inch-high red letters, "THE CASE A.P. FORGOT," photostats of the affidavit and a 10-page "Brief Review of Public Information on Owen Lattimore." In his complaint about the failure of the AP to carry the story, McCarthy noted, with a touch of pathos, that his investigator had put a "rather great" amount of time and money into getting the Foerster affidavit in Switzerland. Then came the needle. He said the AP's lack of coverage was "doubly disturbing" because "the same group of columnists, radio commentators, etc., who sprang to the defense of Alger Hiss and who have always led the smear against anyone who attempts to get rid of Communists in government are now combining in an attempt to deify Owen Lattimore."

The AP's answer was brief and a bit unkind. After noting that it had given full coverage to "all newsworthy aspects" of McCarthy's charges of Communism in the government, the AP commented: "In this case it was concluded the Senator's statement lacked news value."

NOT EQUAL

WILMINGTON (NR correspondent)

The Vice Chancellor of Delaware's lower court has handed down a ruling which sets a new precedent in the campaign against segregated education. On August 9, Vice Chancellor Collins J. Seitz directed the University of Delaware to admit Negro applicants for undergraduate study on the same basis that it uses for white students.

Ruling on a suit filed by 10 Negro applicants who had been denied admission to the State University, Seitz said that educational facilities and opportunities offered Negroes at the Delaware State College are "vastly inferior" to those at the University. He held that the trustees of the University had "violated the Equal Protection clause of the 14th Amendment" in refusing to consider applications of Negroes. A permanent injunction will be issued to restrain the trustees from continuing that refusal.

Following the Supreme Court decisions on the Oklahoma and Missouri segregation cases in 1948, the University of Delaware has admitted Negroes to a few courses of study not available to them at the Delaware State. But the trustees left it to the courts to decide whether or not the separate facilities at the Negro college are "equal." Vice Chancellor Seitz emphatically declared that the facilities were "woefully inferior" and pointed out that the college itself is a non-accredited institution. The actual admission of Negroes may be delayed by an appeal to the State Supreme Court. Meanwhile, the University is preparing to admit students of all colors this fall.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

The mystery as to why the US Senate voted to lend $100 million to Franco is no mystery to French and Italian military experts. Long before this loan was voted, some of these experts, who ought to know what they are talking about, said that Spain is most definitely included among the Western European nations not specifically mentioned in the second round of MAP but scheduled to get more American military aid. They brush aside the denials as being for the political record, and stress the often repeated view of the Pentagon that Spain more than any other nation fits President Truman's definition of those "whose increased ability to defend themselves against aggression is important to the security of the United States." Moreover, they insist that American military aid for Spain has actually been in effect for a considerable time.

Under the name Strategicus, one of these experts writes in the Paris *Observateur* that a plan, worked out by General Joseph L. Collins and already being put into action, calls for a five-point program for the "defense" of Spain. First, eight infantry divisions of the "Uniforce" type evolved in Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery's Fontainebleau setup, four mountain divisions and one armored division are being formed. Second, a number of ports are being improved for use as military supply bases. Third, long-range air fields are being built. Fourth, the road and rail network is being modernized. Fifth, factories producing industrial supplies for military operations are being built; and raw materials and industrial products needed for national defense are being supplied.

All the fighter squadrons of the air force are to be given P-51s, but in general the Spanish contribution to air warfare will be in fields, because the United States Air Force will dominate Spain's "air space." Nevertheless, some Spanish pilots are being trained in Western Germany under an agreement between Major General Robert J. Douglas at Wiesbaden and General Gonzales Gallarza, the Spanish Air Minister. In addition, American and British pilots who served in the Israeli air force have been employed as instructors.

Generalissimo Francisco Franco has carried out a complete reshuffle of high posts in the military establishment to remove all men who might be hostile to the plan. Direct liaison between the Pentagon and Franco is being carried out by Lieutenant Colonel Mendoza in Washington and Colonel Johnson in Madrid. The highest priority is being given to the building of the air fields, to be finished by the end of 1951.

The purpose of the plan is of course to equip the USAF with safe fields from which to strike at the Soviet Union's Red Army before it advances far from the satellite areas into Western Europe. For such an advance, the Soviets have ready the equivalent of from 65 to 70 crack armored American divisions, according to another military expert who writes anonymously in the Paris *Monde*. They could double this striking force in two or three months.

The total Soviet military force, this writer says, is between 175 and 200 divisions, about half of them infantry, including motorized units, and about a third—the elite—armored or fully mechanized. About one-fourth of the units are in western Russia, 40 or 50 in the satellites or Germany, the rest in the Caucasus, Siberia and the Far East.

Within three months after the start of war, the total strength could be brought to 300 divisions; within six to 12 months, to 500 divisions. But each division is smaller and less well equipped than an American division; and as against the excellent infantry

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divisions there are others which are little more than undisciplined hordes used deliberately for terrorism but ineffective for modern war. In general, three Soviet divisions are needed to balance two American—at least on paper and in advance calculations. This is equally true of the armored forces.

The equipment, says the *Monde* expert, is crude but easily mass-produced, not necessarily inefficient, and well adapted to the temperament and training of soldiers who totally lack the American know-how and the almost intuitive skill with machinery that it implies. The tanks are better than the Germans' and also better than American ones about which the expert knows; they include a number of heavies (50 or 56 tons) and mediums (29 or 35 tons); they also include vehicles designed as "fortresses"—vehicles to carry heavy cannon. To facilitate mass production, only three types of chassis and one type of motor are being made.

Morale and fighting spirit are good, but, except for an elite group who rival the Americans in know-how, most of the officers as well as the soldiers are not comparable to Americans in ability to wage modern mechanized war. The Soviet forces can accept, without loss of morale, casualties that might ruin US or Western European fighting spirit. But the greatest weakness is in the poor quality, not of the men, but of the specialized material needed for modern war. This is particularly true of optical, electrical and electronic equipment. And it shows up most strikingly in the air force.

The *Monde* expert quotes *Interavia* as saying in November, 1949, that the Soviet air force had 25,000 first-line planes, including 10,000 jets and 2,000 bombers, and 18,000 second-line planes. Now the total is said to be 50,000, and the theoretical annual productive capacity 25,000. But, in the absence of an effective radar system, the Soviets' notorious willingness to sacrifice men and machines may not be enough to carry out the air force's primary task—the protection of industrial centers against US heavy bombers (with or without atomic bombs).

All in all, the *Monde* expert provides good reason to question the theory, current recently, that the Soviet armed forces have become as monstrously powerful now as they were considered negligible by most of the military experts in 1940. Whether the Soviet forces will or will not advance into Western Europe in the foreseeable future is a political, not a military question. But the *Observateur* expert's evidence suggests that, whether or not the Soviets attack, Spain is being equipped to exercise strong influence on the future of political democracy in Western Europe.

PERCY WINNER

CAN THE ATLANTIC COUNTRIES UNITE?

by Michael Straight

IN THE KOREAN INVASION Russia has chosen the fascist way. She has armed, directed and justified military aggression. She has shown that she will launch aggression whenever it seems to pay.

From now on the problem of peace is a problem of creating enough strength to deter aggression.

Fifty-three nations joined in the UN to condemn aggression in Korea. As a demonstration of political solidarity their action was powerful. As a demonstration of effective force it uncovers our weakness.

In aggregate resources the free nations exceed the Communist world. The superiority remains potential. The resources of the Communist world, within limits, are integrated, concentrated on military use, and directed to our weakest points. In contrast, the resources of the free nations are dispersed, immobilized and lack direction.

In addition, there are limits to the hardship which free peoples will willingly undergo even for their own survival. Stalin's great weapon is the power of the police state: ours is the contrast between the historic incapacity of Communism to raise living standards and our own ability to provide a better life for all citizens. Stalin can raise armaments production by lowering consumption in Russia and Eastern Europe. For us it is necessary that Europe should achieve military security without undermining present living standards, and that Asia should prepare its defenses and still achieve the minimum living standards that democracy and defense require.

All free nations share a common need—an over-all program of which military preparedness is a part. Yet no single pattern can provide for three continents in such contrasting stages of development: Asia, for whom occupation and foreign domination still means the West; Europe, so worn down by war that the costs of survival seem intolerable; America, at the peak of her strength but lacking any clear national purpose and ill-trained to combine mobilization and self-restraint over a generation or more.

Between the West and Asia the most that we can hope for is to find a basis of mutual understanding and respect, and a common agreement to make the United Nations, with or without Russia, an effective force in deterring aggression.

Among America, Western Europe and the British Commonwealth, a far closer union is necessary and possible today. As Arnold Toynbee has said:

> Great as our aggregate Western resources are they will hardly suffice unless they are pooled under a single joint management.

In this war of ideas, Western Europe is still the key to the free world. It is no longer one of the weak points in economic, social and political terms that invite direct Soviet aggression. But it remains indefensible if

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a world war follows a Soviet attack in weaker areas in Asia and the Near East. Europeans know from bitter experience that partial, inadequate defense is worse than immediate capitulation, as long as occupation is inevitable. Until Europe can defend itself, it will cling to neutrality and insularity, never fully accepting the world-wide commitments necessary for a true collective-security system.

Today Russia maintains 80 divisions around Europe's borders. The Western European nations maintain 10 divisions to guard their own internal frontiers against each other.

No wonder François Mauriac said recently of France:

> Our apathy has sometimes seemed that of an old goat hypnotized by a python.

Until now the need for economic progress and moral purpose was the principal force in driving European nations toward union. Now security has become an equal force.

Roughly this is true:

A series of national armed forces, large enough in the aggregate to hold Europe through present commitments, can be created only by impossible reductions in living standards and by principal reliance on German weapons and men.

A European armed force, able to hold Europe, can be created without lowering Europe's living standards or undergoing German domination.

In *economic* terms, the pooling of resources makes Europe's targets possible to achieve. Italy, for example, has 800,000 men available and cannot equip a quarter of that force from her own resources. Belgium, in contrast, has ample industrial capacity and little available manpower. France cannot equip the army she is willing to maintain; Germany has capacity to spare.

In *military* terms, as long as each nation strives for a balanced national force each will continue to produce insignificant and inordinately expensive quantities of inefficient heavy weapons. Specialization alone can draw adequate equipment from Europe's limited resources.

In *strategic* terms, if each nation undertakes to defend only its own frontiers, the frontiers of all are indefensible. Yet frontiers are so long, and defense forces so small, that unless Europe's forces are pooled no adequate reserves can be created to be posted at strategic centers and rushed to invasion points.

In *political* terms, every responsible military leader in Europe has said that Europe cannot be held without German men and weapons, and every political leader has said that a German army is unthinkable. Only a European armed force mixing Germans and other nationalities at the divisional level can break this deadlock.

In *psychological* terms, the finest equipment and the most lavish aid cannot buy morale. Morale for the European comes from knowledge that he belongs to an organism large enough and strong enough to defend itself and to assert itself in today's world.

Until now, the defense programs of the Western European nations have been small and largely uncoordinated. Defense has taken two percent of the budgets of Denmark and Belgium; France has not fulfilled roles assigned to her under the Brussels pact. The Brussels command, at Fontainebleau, has created a Western Union force—on paper. Its work has been in a void; which has lead Winston Churchill to conclude that:

> The preparations of Western Europe to defend itself stand on a far lower level than those of South Korea.

The responsibility for present efforts toward unification rests with the North Atlantic Council. Its Military Committee has worked toward the concept of balanced collective forces—that is, towards national forces that are in relation to each other. This concept is far short of a unified European force.

The Korean invasion has created a new mood in the West. America's partial mobilization will bring into being a mobile reserve force for Europe. Britain is matching America's effort. France is undertaking to raise 15 divisions with American aid. Four billion dollars in American aid will be provided for Europe next year. A large part of this sum will be spent in contracting with European factories to produce standardized and specialized equipment for Europe's over-all needs.

In contrast, the recent meeting of the deputies of the North Atlantic Council was largely sterile, resisting even the first step toward unification of a joint command. Yet should this joint command be created, it would still lack authority. The real powers, in the purchase and allocation of equipment, have been held in American hands. These powers—granted to the Organization for European Economic Coöperation in the case of the Marshall Plan—have been withheld from the Council because it has lacked over-all authority. From now on, Europeans are certain to resent American direction of their defenses and to move toward the creation of a European command.

If in response to today's overriding needs a unified armed force should come into being in Europe, where is the unified economy that will support this force, and who will be its commander-in-chief?

A unified economy in this sense is more than an economy free of trade barriers and controls. It means joint planning of investments, joint allocation of materials and joint direction of production in a combined mobilization program.

A commander-in-chief means a single mind and will. Eisenhower, as Chief of Staff of the Allied forces in World War II, with all the delegation of authority that is granted to a theater commander in wartime, struggled

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as best he could between Roosevelt and Churchill. He concluded:

The key to the matter is a readiness on highest levels to adjust all nationalistic differences that affect the strategic employment of combined resources and in the war theater to designate a single commander who is supported to the limit.

Today the chief of staff of a European armed force would be responsible to 14 independent Defense Ministers who meet periodically on the Defense Committee of the North Atlantic Council and, through them, to the Deputy Foreign Ministers of the North Atlantic Council.

The dangers of this situation are clear. Either the military commander will be restricted by the narrow powers which the committee and the council are able to delegate, or the commander, in taking necessary actions, will create a military authority for Europe unmatched by commensurate civilian control.

France has proposed a unified command for Europe, backed by a unified mobilization of the 12 Atlantic Pact states, to be directed by a single central agency. To whom would this agency answer? The lack of parliamentary review over the European steel authority was a major cause of Britain's rejection of the Schuman Plan. Yet Britain is opposed to a European or an Atlantic parliament.

So, for the Atlantic nations, these questions arise:

Can sovereign nations achieve the unified military defense, the pooling of resources, the will to stand together through all hardships, quarrels and defeats?

Or does the realization of a common destiny among millions of dissimilar peoples require participation in common institutions, loyalty to common symbols, and recognition of common ends?

This is the first of a series of articles; the second will appear in an early issue.

A HARD LOOK AT U.S. STEEL

by Inge Kaiser

THE KOREAN WAR has already brought its inevitable corollary—the beginnings of a major shortage of steel. This is a good moment, therefore, for a hard look at the efficiency and wisdom displayed by the American steel industry in general and its most important factor, US Steel, in particular. Such a hard look was taken, recently, by a House subcommittee on monopolies. Out of its findings emerged some significant facts:

That the present giant size of US Steel is not caused by past efficiency, nor does it guarantee present efficiency.

That its very size gives it a dangerous degree of control over the steel industry.

That the relations between the parent company and its subsidiaries emphatically do not promote the public interest.

The whole inquiry was put in its proper framework by Chairman Emanuel Celler (D, N.Y.). He pointed out that steel is basic to economic life and national security. The American steel industry directly employs 800,000 persons. Millions of others are indirectly dependent upon it. The economic and national defense responsibilities relate directly to monopoly and competition within the industry. When major policy decisions are made on prices, employment or national defense, are these the decisions of a few people in a few companies, or are they decisions arrived at competitively?

The committee began with iron ore, and called on two government witnesses, Interior Secretary Oscar Chapman and Dr. James Boyd, Director of the Bureau of Mines. Chapman argued that the growth of the steel industry had not kept pace with the expansion of the economy as a whole, and that the necessary boost in steel capacity depended largely on adequate raw-material reserves.

Commenting on Securities and Exchange Commission data showing that US Steel controlled sizable shares of Lake Superior iron-ore production (36 percent in 1932, 40 percent in 1944 and 47 percent in 1946), Chapman concluded: "If they control that amount of the ore in that area, they are obviously the controlling factor involved in the extension and development of the steel industry."

Boyd, estimating future requirements for iron ore, concluded (even before Korea) that current domestic iron-ore supplies will not satisfy present needs of the steel industry at full capacity. (The industry is now operating above the theoretical limit!) He said the ore supply would be "touch and go" until 1970. He called for the development of domestic taconite (low-grade ore) and the import of high-grade foreign ores, especially from Newfoundland-Labrador and Venezuela.

Because of the scarce supply of ore, the control of this vital raw material by US Steel is particularly significant.

Eighty percent of all domestic ore comes from the Lake Superior region. Of the high-grade reserves in that area, the Corporation's subsidiary, the Oliver Mining Company, owns 51 percent. In the years 1941-44, Oliver shipped more than half of all Minnesota ores, or more

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Inge Kaiser has worked with the War Production Board, the Senate Small Business Committee and the Congressional Quarterly. As a writer, she has specialized for some years in articles dealing with problems relating to natural resources and monopoly.

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than four times as much as the next largest ore company. In 1944 Oliver shipped 94 percent of the very best ores.

According to the president of Republic Steel, C. M. White, no open market exists for ore. Oliver Mining "sells" 93 percent of its production to affiliates of the parent company, the remaining seven percent to a dozen purchasers. Oliver grants 30-cents-a-ton discounts (about four percent) on sales to US Steel subsidiaries, because of "the absence of selling expenses."

President Benjamin F. Fairless of US Steel stated emphatically that Oliver was indispensable to his company. It would be impossible to operate, he said, if the ore company were separate and sold ore competitively to all comers, "because we would not be competitive with steel companies who own their own ore." "How could we operate our steel properties," he asked, "if we did not own ore?" He also admitted that by reason of their ownership relation—and the formerly secret discount—ore costs his concern less "in the consolidated results" than it costs his competitors who have to buy their ore.

Two questions arise from this situation:

1. Will US Steel continue to supply its competitors with ore, especially if its reserves in the future might no longer produce beyond the Corporation's own needs? Fairless said that although US Steel had the power to change its ore-selling policy, "we have not any intention of doing so." The dependence of other steel firms is nevertheless real and does not permit them to exert the same degree of power, control and freedom of economic action within the industry as that possessed by US Steel.

2. In terms of costs and prices, can competitors overcome their disadvantage? They now have an open 30-cents-a-ton handicap in their attempts to compete with the Corporation's subsidiaries. Beyond that, competitors' purchases of ore from US Steel, while an expense to themselves, actually provide a profit to the Corporation.

US Steel's control of the shrinking ore supply gives it a special monopolistic advantage—a twofold one. Furthermore, its financial resources enable it to develop new reserves, both of domestic taconite deposits and of the rich Venezuelan ores, so that as time goes on its position will grow stronger.

Actually, the Corporation has control even of a bottleneck within the bottleneck: it owns the Duluth, Missabe and Iron Range Railway, the main road tapping the Mesabi range. And many a time, according to Representative John A. Blatnik (D, Minn.), rival ore companies found freight cars unavailable when they needed them. Here again, what amounts to costs of transportation for other ore firms, amounts to profit for US Steel.

Both the mining and railroad operations actually have proved very handsome sources of income. While the Oliver Mining Company accounts for less than one-tenth of the Corporation's total investment, it brings in nearly one-fourth of the total net return (1949). The railroad, similarly, returns a greater share of US Steel's total income than its percentage of investment. All three of US Steel's subsidiary roads have earned revenues far above average rail income. For the Duluth, Missabe and Iron Range, the rates of return for 1947-49 were 19.06, 19.84 and 8.98 percent. Despite these unusual rail profits the road had refused to grant pleas for rate reductions from unaffiliated shippers.

RELATIVE RETURNS EARNED BY US STEEL'S DIVISIONS—1949

	Percent of Investment	*Percent of Earnings*
Oliver Mining Co.	7.4	22.5
Railroads	5.7	8.3
Steelmaking subsidiaries ...	55.8	45.7

The hearings of the subcommittee shed some additional light on US Steel's price leadership. (For a recent discussion of the more exhaustive investigation of steel pricing see Louis H. Bean's article, the *NR*, May 22, 1950).

Committee counsel Edward H. Levi produced two little booklets during Fairless' testimony: the "price extra" books of US Steel and Bethlehem Steel. To the amazement of some of the Committee members, they proved identical, page by page. Fairless' aide explained that the costs of extras (finishing work on steel shapes to customers' specifications) were fairly uniform. Levi inquired whether the American Iron & Steel Institute did not operate a committee, composed of representatives of various steel firms, to determine the cost of extras—as it had according to Temporary National Economic Commission testimony during the 30s. US Steel Vice President David Austin replied that he probably referred to the Standards Committee which concerned itself with the classification of extras, but not with their cost, and never, oh never, with their price. The identity of prices, Fairless declared, is the result of competition. When confronted with identical bids to the government on stainless-steel orders, Fairless adduced some additional reasons: the OPA, the basing-point system and their patent agreement.

The hearings injected life into a development which the Federal Trade Commission's cold statistics had long indicated: increasingly, US Steel and other major steel producers have entered the fabricating end of the business. Most of US Steel's acquisitions during the last ten years consist of firms in the fabricating and finishing field. They make pipes, tubes, hot and cold-rolled sheet and strip, structurals, and steel drums and barrels.

While Fairless declared on the stand, "We have no desire to put anybody out of business, nor do we have

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the power to do it," independent fabricators told a different story. They did not accuse the Corporation of impure or predatory motives. They pointed out that its entry into the structural and fabricating field led inevitably to the destruction of independent firms. When Celler asked whether US Steel should be restrained from competing in the fabricating end, J. Philip Murphy, a West Coast fabricator, who considers his plant very efficient, gave a compelling reply:

> That depends upon your ideology . . . [whether] you believe in the free-enterprise system. . . . Unless you make some change in their end-product development, I think that you will find that pretty soon they will have it all. On the other hand, if you believe that the free-enterprise system should be eliminated and that one or two big operating companies should take the ore from the mines and deliver the tin can to your table, then you should keep the steel mills wholly integrated.

Another independent, Robert K. Brown, the manager of an Indiana spring firm, when asked about the future of the independent steel fabricator if the giants continue their invasion of the fabricating field, replied:

> Well, I don't believe they have much of a future. . . . The steel companies . . . are in a position and they have the power to exterminate the competitive fabricator.

The reason for their plight, the witnesses agreed, is that they are in competition with their supplier. When the Corporation sells semi-finished steel to fabricators, it makes a profit on the transaction. The fabricator, in turn, must make a profit. If US Steel undertakes to fabricate, it needs to make a profit only on the combined operations, or can even subsidize the finished product with profits from other operations.

If the independent's costs are high, and the prices of the finished product, as announced by US Steel, are low, he finds himself in a price squeeze which makes his life extremely difficult. He cannot long quote prices that are higher than those of the Corporation, or his customers will turn away. Said Brown:

> Independent fabricators are normally located near the markets for their product, and for that reason are dispersed in small communities scattered all over the country. They create a lot of competition among themselves, resulting in better products, better methods and cheaper products, and, from the standpoint of defense, I would say it would be a grave mistake to allow the fabrication of the steel, as well as the production, all to be concentrated in a few of the greater industrial areas, which would happen if the larger corporations were successful in capturing most of the business.

This man spoke from experience not only as an independent, but also as a former manager of one of US Steel's operations. He told the Committee how, as an agent of Big Steel, he had diverted materials from independent customers to Corporation subsidiaries when not enough was available for all.

For the survival of small business anywhere in the steel industry, the entry of the giants into the fabricating field is crucial. Nowhere else within that industry does technology permit the existence of small operating plants. That is not to say, however, that much smaller corporate aggregates than the present ones could not operate individual ore mines, blast furnaces, steel and rolling mills now combined into Big and Little Steel empires.

Fairless declared that he was not in the price-squeezing, but in the steel-making business. Yet the hearings showed inescapably that the sheer weight of size, the dominance in many segments of the industry far beyond the over-all 32.5-percent share of ingot capacity, the ability to shift profits and losses over a far-flung and varied range of operations and the—even if incidental—price squeeze, arise from and contribute to the Corporation's power and the weakness and imminent extinction of the independents.

The FTC has called this trend "forward integration," a formidable technical term. The hearings illustrated with life-and-blood witnesses the nature of the problem.

The hearings went far to demolish the myth that bigness automatically means efficiency. Fairless stated the theory in his opening words: "The US Steel Corporation is successful; it is profitable, it is efficient, and it is a large enterprise." The implication he tried to convey was that success, profitability, efficiency and bigness are inseparable: none can exist without the others.

He explained that efficiency did not require the attention of Congress. It would take care of itself:

> I am for the prosecution of monopolies. I do not believe in them. I think our government should protect its people in every way possible to prevent them. If they exist, destroy them.
>
> But so far as whether a company is inefficient . . . I do not think the Congress of the US needs to worry about that, because that fellow will go out of business automatically, because of our great competitive system.

As Celler wryly commented: "Every man for himself, said the elephant, as he danced among the chickens."

The Corporation's own history, as disclosed in these hearings, disproves Fairless' theory. While a small business needs to be efficient, a large, well-entrenched, economically powerful concern, in a monopolistic industry, can continue merrily in business even though inefficient. This revelation, based on information contained in a report which was instigated and paid for by the Corporation itself, is one of the chief contributions of the recent inquiry.

In 1928, the Steel Corporation, in a soul-searching

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mood, put its own engineers to work to examine the operation of the "family of US Steel." The engineers did their work thoroughly and came up with findings and recommendations so drastic and startling that the management of that time, headed by Myron C. Taylor, felt an independent check was needed. In 1936 it hired the well-known engineering consultant firm of Ford, Bacon and Davis of New York to make a new, complete survey of the Corporation's state of health.

The engineers presented their final report in 1938 with the verdict: not so good. They found:

That US Steel's rate of profits to investment ranked tenth among the ten largest steel firms.

That it was slow to introduce new processes and products, lagging behind some of the smaller concerns (though the availability of resources and staff to do research directed toward progress in an industry has often been advanced as a chief justification for bigness of a firm).

That it sacrificed the efficiency of operation and expansion of some of its operating subsidiaries in the—not always economic—interest of the parent corporation. For instance: although the South and Southwest constitute the biggest market for pipe, US Steel had no pipe-making facilities in or near that area (true until the spring of 1950); it allocated the Texas and Southwest market for steel products not to its Southern subsidiary, Tennessee Coal & Iron, but to more poorly located Northern subsidiaries—at a cost to stockholders of $1 million a year.

That it failed to participate in the export market—at a cost to stockholders of about $30 million a year.

That it sacrificed the economies of water and truck transportation in deference to its friends among the railroads (largely a result of the basing-point system).

That the Corporation greatly needed a long-run planning agency, because in a concern with the size and complexity of subsidiaries, products and marketing areas, the problem of coördinating and presenting to the authorities the need for improvements and changes becomes a complicated one and delays results.

The report deplored the absence of a smooth-functioning organization. Under US Steel's methods, facts on costs of production were not easily available to the management, and the systems used were antiquated and far below those in other industries.

In short, the report and Fairless' testimony relating thereto revealed the picture of a corporate setup akin to a public-utility, holding-company empire, in which decisions relating to operating subsidiaries come from a far-off management. Economy and efficiency were not primary criteria in managerial determinations. It is well to remember that upon the dissolution of public-utility, holding-company systems, the operating subsidiaries, when cast loose, usually prosper as they have never done before.

Fairless said the Corporation had instituted some of the suggested improvements but had rejected others. Without question, it has tried to recover lost ground. Yet it is evident from the successive engineers' reports that between 1926 and 1938 gross inefficiencies beset US Steel. It survived. It continues to survive in competition with more efficient concerns. Fairless said that "any operation, whether it be large or whether it be intermediate in size or small, will fail if it is operated inefficiently." Apparently, he sensed the discrepancy. Toward the end of his third day of testimony he reiterated, with less assurance, "We take our hats off to no one with respect to efficiency."

The Corporation has adopted some of the engineers' recommendations to go into the production of finished items, such as steel barrels, kegs, drums—the very development complained of by the independent fabricators. It has expanded its output of the lighter products, sheet and strip, wire and nails, and in a number of these it has become the leading producer. But it is significant that in these products, even where the Corporation is the largest producer, its total share of the market is still relatively low: 12 percent of cold-rolled strip (second largest), 22 percent of hot-rolled sheets and strip (largest), 22 percent of seamless pipe and tube, nails and wire.

On the other hand, its percentage of total production of heavy shapes is greater and ranks beyond its 32.5 percent share of ingot capacity. For instance, it makes 49 percent of steel rails, 42 percent of structural shapes, 41 percent of blank and pierced billets for seamless tube, and 41 percent of plates. To the extent to which the trend among steel-consuming industries is toward lighter products, US Steel is still not progressive.

The gist of the information disclosed by the hearings led Professor George W. Stocking, the concluding witness, to pose four significant questions:

¶ Is US Steel big because it is efficient?

¶ Is US Steel efficient because it is big?

¶ Does its control of its subsidiaries promote competition and the public interest?

¶ Does the Steel Corporation exercise power over the market?

His answers, based on the evidence: three "no's" and a "yes"—in that order.

Though few hearings recently conducted in Washington have brought forth more solid economic facts, the daily press, perhaps because of the absence of flamboyant speeches by those investigated, gave poor coverage to the proceedings. Reporters complained of the difficulty of following the quick question-and-answer methods employed by counsel.

Perhaps they were aware, too, that the information developed shed some doubtful light on a frequent full-page advertiser.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: Defiance of the Supreme Court

ON OTHER OCCASIONS, I have been critical of the defiance of the Supreme Court by the Attorney General and Secretary of the Interior of the United States and the Attorney General of California. I have said that the stipulation improperly entered into some three years ago by these officials, attempting to confer power upon the State of California to issue further illegal leases to offshore oil property, constituted contempt of the Supreme Court. A court jealous of its powers and zealous to protect the property rights of the people would have brought these three contumacious officials to the bar of the court for summary punishment, if the charges that I had publicly made could have been sustained. Now, in S. J. Resolution 195, one phase of which was discussed in this space last week, we find another barefaced attempt to nullify not one, as in the California tidelands case, but three decisions of the Supreme Court.

If successful, this raid would also destroy the vested rights of those citizens who, believing that title to the offshore lands was in the United States, and not in any state, filed applications for leases under the federal law. On its face, this resolution appears to be unconstitutional. Applicants for federal leaseholds are entitled to have their legal rights determined by the only branch of government having jurisdiction to determine legal rights, namely, the courts. As a matter of fact, a number of applicants have already filed suits in the US District Court of the District of Columbia to determine whether they, or the trespassers who have been operating under state leases, are entitled to leases to explore for oil.

Those who had legally filed for federal leases in good faith, because they believed that title belonged to the United States, should not be arbitrarily stripped of vested legal rights by the fiat of a Congressional resolution, unless we are no longer a government by law, but one of brutally-exercised force. It has been urged that those who are pumping oil, under leases illegally issued by California and other states, proceeded in good faith. It is also argued that they have invested large sums of money. The validity of these arguments I have always admitted. But those who have applied for federal leases, under what has been proved to be valid federal law, also acted in good faith. Surely, no one would argue that those who in good faith, but erroneously, applied to a state for a lease to property that it did not own, should dispossess others who in equally good faith, but properly, asked the federal government for leases to property that it did own.

It is also urged that those who are, in effect, operating under a "squatter title" have invested money which undoubtedly reaches a very large sum. But the dispossessed claimants also have been spending large sums of money in the prosecution of their claims. After the decision in the California case, now more than three years ago, Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug discovered that some two hundred applications were on file for federal leases under the Mineral Leasing Act. His method of adjusting the equities and doing justice was crude. He held no hearings, he asked for no briefs supporting the applicants' claims. He simply gave the claimants a "Krug's rush" by announcing that the Mineral Leasing Act did not apply to offshore oil lands, and disallowed all of the applications. In so doing, he had the support of that other stalwart friend of the oil interests, Attorney General (now Associate Justice) Tom C. Clark.

This left the impetuous Mr. Krug free to continue to be the most-traveled Secretary of the Interior in history, regardless of length of term. It also left American citizens, who had applied for leases in good faith, out in the cold, as some of them were out of cash. Now, if the O'Mahoney resolution should prevail, these bedeviled applicants, who had the tough luck to guess right on the law, expect to have their disregarded applications for leases thrown in their faces.

Those who have spent money to operate illegal state leases have earned a rich reward. Probably all of them have recovered their original investments, while paying themselves large salaries. In addition, they have built up great cash reserves, they have paid themselves dividends, they have invested part of their profits in other petroleum enterprises not connected with the tidelands. Contrast this happy condition with that of the federal applicants. They, too, have laid out large sums of money, while earning no return on that money. Moreover, many of them have spent many days of valuable time traveling back and forth to Washington, generally from California, seeking the justice that Clark and Krug have denied them.

Nothing could be more unjust than for Congress to throw its weight to either side in a legal controversy that is pending in the courts. In fairness to all the contesting parties, and in the interest of the country, there should be a prompt settlement of this controversy—outside the courts, if possible. The holders of the illegal leases should remember the good old legal adage that "he who seeks equity must do equity." There is no equity in such a bludgeon as Resolution 195 provides—a bludgeon designed to crack the skulls of those who have already suffered a grave injustice by following what turned out to be the law.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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MIDSUMMER BOOK NUMBER

EINSTEIN: ARCHITECT OF THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION

by J. Bronowski

THIS large symposium[1] is one of a series about contemporary philosophers. Other books in the series discuss Dewey, Santayana, Whitehead and Moore, and there are volumes in preparation on Croce and Maritain. All these, it will be noticed, are professional philosophers; and this in itself gives a special interest to the inclusion in the series of a book about Einstein.

For Einstein is not a philosopher at all, either professional or amateur. He has always been content with the more modest ambition to be a scientist. And even among scientists he has never played the pontiff; the papers he has published in recent years are, like those he wrote in his twenties, the plain work of a physicist who sticks to his subject.

Yet this plain work in physics has had a more profound effect in all fields of thought than the combined work of philosophers, humanists and dogmatists in the last century. This book takes its place in a series on philosophers because it dwarfs the philosophers, and is a monument to an intellectual revolution made not by them but by science. Science has set going two such revolutions before; one was begun by Darwin in the last century, and the other by Hobbes and Newton 300 years ago. The impact of Einstein's theories has probably been greater than Darwin's and, outside science as within it, must be compared with Newton's.

What was the special nature of Einstein's discoveries, and why did their influence reach so far beyond the narrow world of physics in which they were made? What indeed was wrong with that world in 1900 that could not be mended by anything short of a revolution? We know that the planet Mercury was not keeping time; that the speed of light obstinately refused to behave as classical physics expected; and that the newly discovered electrons seemed to change their mass with their speed. But was all this really so critical that a little tinkering could not put it right?

Physicists hoped that it could; and since they did not question the classical laws, they had no choice but to do a good deal of ingenious but quite artificial tinkering. Einstein was at this time a young man just out of the university, who had been able to get a job only as a minor official in the Swiss Patent Office. He did his research in his spare time. And his approach was as unacademic as his job. He looked not for some ingenious gloss on the laws of physics, not even for an error in their formulation. He looked at the unwritten assumptions on which the laws were built.

Newton, who had the same penetrating simplicity of mind that Einstein has, had been conscious of these assumptions but had found them unavoidable; since his day only two or three scientists had spared them a thought. Put in scientific terms, the assumptions were that space and time are given to us absolutely and are the same for every observer. Put more generally, the assumptions postulated a sharp division between the observer and the world. Classical physics saw the world as a chain or network of events which unrolls itself in imperturbable sequence, and of which the observer is a witness but not a link. The observer is a god, altogether outside the machine of the physical world

What Einstein asked about this majestic view was not whether it is true, in some abstract sense, but whether it is practical. Does science in fact record impersonal events? Can it distill the event from our observation of it? Once the question is asked, the answer is plainly no. Physics as we practise it does not consist of events; it consists of observations. And between the event and those who observe it there must pass a signal—a ray of light perhaps, a wave or an impulse—which cannot be taken out of the observation. Event, signal and observation: this is the relationship which Einstein saw as the fundamental unit in physics. Relativity is the understanding of the world not as events but as relations.

Something like this had been said by philosophers for some time, and chiefly by Mach: that science must get rid of abstractions and make its system only out of what is in fact observed. But Einstein was the first to take the philosophy seriously, as something more than a pious, impractical hope. He put it into equations; and physicists were astonished to find that it explained the erratic behavior of Mercury and predicted the bending of light near the sun.

This is a view of science and of all knowledge, not as a mechanical record but as an activity. Einstein had not asked himself what space and time are, he had asked how physical observers carry out the process of measuring them. For example, how do two observers at a distance apart compare their times? They can do so only by sending a signal from one to the other, and this signal itself takes time to travel through the space between them. It follows that there is no way in which we can define "now" for all observers at once; every observer has only his own "here and now." In our experience of the physical world, space and time cannot be wholly separated from one another; each is part of a single reality. And this is not an

REVIEWS BY

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M. L. ROSENTHAL — GEORGE N. SHUSTER

JAMES R. NEWMAN — Y. H. KRIKORIAN

[1] ALBERT EINSTEIN: PHILOSOPHER-SCIENTIST. Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp (The Library of Living Philosophers, Inc., Evanston, Ill.; $8.50).

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abstract conception like Euclid's space. Einstein's space-time is a real medium in which physical processes act and are observed. It is given its structure by the matter which it contains, and this matter bends and closes it because its function is to enclose matter.

These are the deep and challenging ideas with which Einstein has revolutionized the physics of the large-scale world. And it will now be plain why their influence has been so much wider than science. They are universal ideas; they reach below the artifices of mathematics and indeed the laws of physics, to the basic conception of the relationship between man and the world.

Einstein wrote his first paper on relativity in 1905, when he was 26. In that *annus mirabilis*, his wonderful year, he also published two other papers, each of which broke new and remarkable ground in another branch of physics. We tend to forget the great work which Einstein has done in this other world, the world of small-scale or quantum physics. Yet it was for this work, and not for the theory of Relativity, that Einstein was given the Nobel Prize in 1921. And his ambition remains to close his life's work by joining the two worlds, the small-scale and the large. The Unified Field Theory which he has just published, which tries to combine in one formula the laws of gravity and of electricity, is a step toward this junction.

In quantum physics Einstein's insistence on the relation between event and observer has been elaborated by others with a remarkable result. For in that tiny world it has laid bare an essential uncertainty in the observation itself. It is not possible to observe at one time the whole behavior of one of the minute fundamental particles of modern physics, such as an electron. The particle's speed and position carry their own uncertainty, and as we observe its position more precisely its speed becomes less certain. Quantum physics has therefore ceased to believe in an assured and rigid sequence of cause and effect. Instead, it now sets out the laws of small-scale physics in a statistical form which surrounds each prediction with an area of uncertainty.

I think that this development of a principle of uncertainty in the observations and the predictions of science stems at bottom from Einstein's own principle, that the world is not given to us absolutely but is something which we actively observe. So also think most of the distinguished scientists who write in this symposium, among them de Broglie, Pauli, Born, Niels Bohr and von Laue. Yet the striking fact is that Einstein himself does not approve of this development, and argues against it warmly in this book and elsewhere. He still hopes that a rigid causal theory based on his own Field Theory will resolve what seems to him a temporary difficulty, and will remove the concept of essential uncertainty from modern physics. That discussion is perhaps the most interesting part of the book.

The 25 contributions in the book are uneven and too many of them cover the same ground. But the volume does contain a number of striking essays, chiefly by those whom I have already named. Its outstanding contributor, however, as was to be foreseen, is Albert Einstein. He has written a delightful autobiography by way of introduction, which unfolds in a remarkable way the growth of his own mind through boyhood and youth. He has also rounded off the book by commenting on what has been written by the others. Here, as in everything he writes, we meet that mind of profound simplicity which sees into the heart of every problem, human as well as scientific. What Einstein really did for science was to show that it is much simpler than had been supposed, provided that we are not hidebound by traditional laws and look freshly at the actions which we really carry out. The same direct and searching view makes the problems of our society as simple. This has been his contribution to our social conscience too, and though what is said on that topic in this book is dull, it comes to life in the glimpse that Einstein gives of his own personality.

Dr. J. Bronowski, a mathematician who has worked in a number of scientific fields, was a member of the British Mission which reported on the atomic bombs in Japan. He is now Director of the Central Research Establishment of the British Coal Board. He is widely known in England for his broadcasts on scientific subjects, and he organized UNESCO's radio tribute by world scientists on Einstein's seventieth birthday. His book, The Common Sense of Science, *is due to appear in the autumn.*

Fifteen in Transit—An Interim Anthology

by M. L. Rosenthal

JOHN CIARDI'S *Mid-Century American Poets* is an honest, useful book, "its simple principle being to gather together poems reasonably representative of the best work of a generation of poets, and to have each poet preface his poems with a guide to the reader's better understanding of his work and its intent."

MID-CENTURY AMERICAN POETS. Edited by John Ciardi (Twayne Publishers; $4).

The generation in question, says Ciardi, is not the one just breaking into print but rather the one that "arrived within the last ten to fifteen years."

The poets are Wilbur, Viereck, Rukeyser, Roethke, Shapiro, Scott, Nims, Mayo, Lowell, Jarrell, Holmes, Eberhart, Bishop, Schwartz, and Ciardi himself. Two of them, Lowell and Viereck, are Pulitzer Prize winners; two more, Rukeyser and Shapiro, have a relatively wide reputation. Yet even these four names are hardly household words to educated people now in their thirties and forties. "Modern poetry," for most of these people, is still identified—if at all—with Eliot, Yeats, Pound, Cummings *et al.* One cannot help wondering if a reason, aside from those commonly advanced, for the separation of poet and public may be the simple fact that it's always hard to listen to someone who's being sorry for himself. As Muriel Rukeyser says in her illuminating little essay, "a way must be found to end the self-pity." You get it, indirectly and beautifully, in Richard Wilbur's "The Death of a Toad." You get it, gasping for attention, in Winfield Townley Scott's absorbing poem, "The House"; in the shocked realism of John Frederick Nims's "Apocalypse"; in Randall Jarrell's delicately accurate recordings of the child mind; or in Theodore Roethke's "My Papa's Waltz," which, like so much of his work, excites the reader into a kind of neurasthenic sympathy with the central figure's helpless predicament. Not all these poets indulge in self-centered pathos, and none of

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them does so all the time; but the poetry of sensibility has tended to take —most naturally—a self-analytic turn which fits in well with the familiar twentieth-century conception of the artist-intellectual as a suffering soul abroad in a mechanistic nightmare-hell.

The prose contributions, if read merely as a series of essays long and short by poets on their art, seem uneven, often repetitious, only occasionally valuable as criticism. But read in the context of the group of poems which it prefaces, each essay takes on its own glow and relevancy. We forget that most of these writers are trying conscientiously to answer Ciardi's careful, exhaustive list of critical questions and are therefore (as most critics must, anyway) simply presenting the same fundamental observations on the importance of sound-effects, the ideal audience, the function of imagery, and so on. The prose bears in each case a relationship to the verse implicit in the very style—as instanced by, say, Wilbur's cool, almost arrogantly elegant common sense, or Elizabeth Bishop's impatience with "pretentious and deadly" analysis. The editor's questionnaire has in most of these prose-pieces served to discipline the poets' thinking about their work and to give them a relatively objective approach with which to correct a natural tendency to rationalize or, to paraphrase Delmore Schwartz, to be too technical or oracularly pretentious or facetious or "too personal."

Just as style is everything in verse (for in the main any age provides a general stock of ideas which any literate person finds it hard to get away from), so it turns out to be nearly everything in a poet's prose, throwing a great deal of light on the essential speaking personality of the writer. In fact the style *is* the speaking personality, "the very age and body" of the poet. When Karl Shapiro refuses to answer the questions but instead gives us a single poem in all its stages of composition, that (and the particular poem chosen) is a clue and a quality of style; and when Schwartz, like Rukeyser and Bishop, changes the proposed subject of his essay in his own way, that is another indication of some importance. Ciardi is right, in general, in describing the tone of these poets as one of "self-conscious sanity" and as "urbane and cultivated." Their poetry, he writes, "is more nearly a blend of the classical and the metaphysical, a poetry of individual appraisal, tentative, self-questioning, introspective, socially involved, and always reserving for itself the right to meet experience in its humanistic environment." However, he has not sufficiently taken into account the fact that this is the prevailing mode of the day, and that the differences within this mode—as within any stereotype —are what make for the individual achievements of the poets. Their essays, seen in conjunction with the verse, show them strongly aware of the need to work through to meaning. Still, their formal conservatism, their refusal to "take chances," is a block of a sort. Perhaps our poets, like their non-readers, fear the very meanings they need to discover.

We spoke of self-pity, to which must be added a sense of purposeless doom, as being implicit in many of these poems. But there are important exceptions, as in Robert Lowell's piston-powerful, tragedy-ridden "The Quaker Graveyard in Nantucket." And more important are the infinite variations—celebrations of the beauty of woman, counter-assertions of joy, satirical light verses, fantasies, self-questionings—which both deepen the recurrent theme and forbid the reader to oversimplify it. There is little of the boldness and verve of some of the important anthologies of two or three decades ago (such as Pound's *Active Anthology*), and no eccentric "experimentation." At the same time there is far more work of real quality here, and the poems cut deep into what it feels like to be alive at this moment. Ciardi speaks for most of these writers when, in one of his finer pieces, he tells us that

I ritualize my interim and survival.
What was to do is done or simply lost;
What is to do arrives. My surf and shore
Meet in a placid marvel giving back
An unacquisitive distance from this night
I issue from myself in years that keep

An album of myself—a skeleton
X-rayed by hope of love—seen year by year
Posed in the changing fashions of its skin
To match at last the medical negative
Anonymous as catacombs of you,
Your unknown twin in the debris of time.

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Liberal Education and the Great Tradition

by Boyd H. Bode

IN THE FIELD of education we are frequently reminded that we are the heirs of a Great Tradition. These reminders are often somewhat vague, but the central meaning of this tradition is not hard to determine. It is based on a theory of the universe, and embodies a philosophy of life, that has become embedded in our Western culture. In brief, it is a philosophy of two-worldism, according to which man is simultaneously a denizen of two entirely different realms. One of these is our everyday world of space and time; the other is a region of eternal, immutable, extra-temporal and extra-spatial reality. This duality sets the pattern for education. It emphasizes the contrast between "practical" and "cultural" education, between truth in a pragmatic sense and truth in the sense of "seeing things as they are," between reliance on scientific method and reliance on a direct vision of the everlasting nature of things, from which all sound moral and spiritual standards must be derived.

Viewed historically, this doctrine of two-worldism was perhaps inevitable. The Greeks of Plato's day provide a convenient illustration. When it became necessary to meet the challenge of the Sophists by providing sanctions for the beliefs and practices which had grown out of custom and tradition, there seemed only one direction in which to turn. The everyday world of practical affairs apparently had nothing to offer. Activities such as those symbolized by the Man with the Hoe could hardly be expected to produce deep insight into the nature of moral and spiritual values. These activities involved

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more brawn than brain, they suffered from a social stigma. Therefore, as Plato taught his contemporaries and a long succession of subsequent centuries, the needed insights must come from a fourth dimension. Plato's solution did not, indeed, prevent endless controversies, but it set a basic pattern for the protection of human values. Plato's answer to Sophism was to set an example, in characteristic fashion, for Leaning on the Everlasting Arms.

THE THEORY OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES, by Albert Jay Nock (Henry Regnery Company; $2.25).
EDUCATION LIMITED, by Gustav E. Mueller (University of Oklahoma Press; $2.75).
CRISIS IN EDUCATION, by Bernard Iddings Bell (Whittlesey House; $3).

Things are different now because the tradition that the modern man absorbs as he grows up has changed. The transcendental or "supernatural" element is still much the same, but the other element has been transformed by the influence of science and technology. In the light of what is given us by subjects like anthropology, psychology, history, modern industrialism and scientific method, everyday social relationships appear in a new perspective. It is not so clear now that the way to grasp the enduring rewards of life is to retreat to a fourth dimension. The new road that is opening up appears to lead in the direction of providing for the continuous extension of common interests and common purposes among men. It is a distinctive kind of morality. That is, the two elements in the tradition of the modern man now seem in conflict with each other. The dispute resolves itself into the issue of whether our standards and values require a *cosmic* sanction or whether they can get along with a purely *social* sanction. Modern thinking has in fact developed to the point where it questions whether the familiar pattern of two-worldism which we have inherited from the past is still a defensible pattern at all. As John Dewey points out, "Natural science is forced by its own development to abandon the assumption of fixity," and that, as he says, is "the most revolutionary discovery yet made."

The issue is no longer a choice between two-worldism and moral nihilism. If morality can be dealt with as a purely social affair, the whole question of two-worldism can be left aside. It is then no longer necessary to postulate one kind of knowing for our everyday practical world and another kind of knowing for the realities of the transcendental world. Morality as a social problem is not basically different from other problems. Scientific method becomes our sole reliance all along the line. The most extraordinary trait of the modern defenders of the Great Tradition is their apparent inability to consider any such approach. To them the cleavage between the two worlds is precisely what Plato said it was—and that is that.

A perfect example of this attitude is presented in Albert J. Nock's *The Theory of Education in the United States*, a new edition of which has recently come off the press. Whatever does not fit into Nock's dualistic scheme is brushed aside. Everything pertaining to the world of practical affairs, including science, is at best a superior kind of training. None of it is educational because it is out of relation to the transcendental world, the abiding home of the true, the good, and the beautiful.

Just what constitutes real education Nock is not concerned to explain in detail. In some connections he speaks of it as "inculcation," or as a formative process applied from without, which is about what is ordinarily meant by indoctrination. At other times it seems to be identified with an immediate vision of reality, which is accessible only to the favored few who have their own pipeline to the absolute. These elect, it seems, do not need to have the matter explained to them, and the others, who constitute the great majority, would not understand anyway. They are not educable. Nock's concern is not to shed light on the educative process but to recommend that we be content to *train* the bulk of the population, without trying to educate them. It is hard to decide whether, or to what extent, this volume is the product of an incredible naïveté or of an equally incredible arrogance.

A second recent volume, entitled *Education Limited*, by Gustav E. Mueller, can be dismissed more briefly, since its basic assumptions are pretty much the same as those of Nock. In it we find the same uncritical assumption of two-worldism, a similar distinction between education and training, a similar conception of real education as a relationship with a transcendental reality, and a similar insensitiveness to the problem of knowledge that is involved in this relationship. To show how far these people, whom Huxley once scornfully dubbed "the high priests of culture," are sometimes tempted to go in the direction of plain silliness, the following commentary on pragmatic philosophy is appended:

> Man educated entirely in the pragmatic mentality knows spirit only as a means to some practical interest. He is, therefore, ready to serve anyone who happens to be in power. His aim is to secure a safe position in an unsafe mechanism. The quality necessary to achieve this aim is devoid of any regard for truth. The pragmatic man will always lie, but not too much. . . . He is smooth and adaptable, but can have no personal friendship, because everyone distrusts everyone else.

In *Crisis in Education*, by Bernard Iddings Bell, the general background of two-worldism is much the same, but the emphasis is shifted. There is, indeed, a certain appropriateness in designating the present period as a period of crisis in education. We are in process of moving away from the traditional educational pattern toward something that is still undefined. This process is inevitably attended by confusion. As Bell points out, our young people show a disturbing degree of immaturity, even infantilism; our schools consider everything from poultry raising to clog dancing as proper ingredients of a liberal education, without any clear idea of why they think so; in both home and church there is serious need for a reexamination of educational activities. Unfortunately, Bell prejudges the whole situation by the tacit assumption that the doctrine of two-worldism must be maintained. This being the case, there is no place to go but back to the past, which we thought we had left behind. More specifically, we must derive our moral and spiritual standards from a transcendental world, by a process in which scientific method has no place.

That such a return to the past is possible appears extremely unlikely. But these spokesmen for the Great Tradition can do much to retard the develop-

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ment of education. Instead of having an appropriate part in the development of a truly liberal system of education, they are becoming the representatives of a toryism that is increasingly impervious to new ideas. This is bound to continue as long as they insist on mistaking their personal habits and preferences for cosmic laws.

Boyd H. Bode is professor emeritus of Education from Ohio State University and is the author of a number of books. He is now lecturing at the University of Florida.

Allegorical Melodrama

by James R. Newman

THIS IS a satirical fable of the future, a sort of Orwellian projection but flatter in trajectory, more intellectual and less human. It is a morality play embedded in a melodrama set, in 1960, in a rented mansion not far from New York. The moral argument runs something like this: Ours is the age of naked power, trusting not in the worth of man but only in the "brute vitality that animates the universe." We live by the imperatives of "electronics" rather than by the imperatives of religion and ethics. We are therefore heading straight for the abyss unless we return to the path lit by God. The question is: How shall the old moralities regain their authority and which of the prophets—Moses, Christ, Marx—can lead to salvation?

This is not, it may be admitted, either a revolutionary theme or a significant contribution to ethical thought. It is in fact pathetically trite. If there is no better diagnosis of our malady than that we have forgotten the teachings of Seneca and no better recipe than to march off into the golden past, we are a shallow breed and the sooner fission disposes of us, the better. What is surprising is that Edmund Wilson should have selected these platitudes as the epitome of contemporary spiritual failure. One infers, indeed, that he had misgivings. Unwilling to commit himself finally either to the diagnosis or the recipe, he chose, I think deliberately, to undercut his allegory: the satire is inwound with satire, the story is extravagant, the characters are types. The result is a frustrating medley: earnest and derisive, serious and self-mocking.

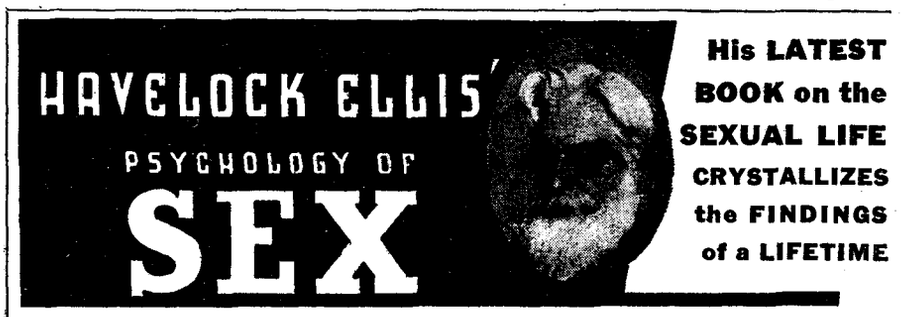
THE LITTLE BLUE LIGHT, by Edmund Wilson (Farrar, Straus; $2.75).

Besides this organic confusion, the play has other faults.

It has wit, suspense and interludes of sharp dialogue, but it impresses me as a play to be read rather than played. Though the same can perhaps justly be said of certain of Shaw's plays, it is here even more obvious that what happens on the stage is a cold traffic of minds and ideas and, for all the melodrama, not a clash of living people.

The chief protagonist of the moral is a stage gardener whose affectations include winking at the audience, deprecating his own opinion as "just a few old platitudes" and speaking in four dialects, three languages and two intonations. All this is presumably rendered plausible by the final revelation that he is the Wandering Jew. In addition, the play involves a liberal muckraking American publisher (Middle-Western Populist type and almost the last of the breed), his young, beautiful, brilliant, discontented and faithless wife, and an assistant, Ellis, who went to the right schools. A noted writer of super-mystery stories, Gansvoort von Gandersheim (real name M. S. Ferguson), is the creator of a fictional civilization-devouring demi-urge, SHIDNATS SLYME (anagram for Myles Standish); he figures in shadowy fashion in the underlying allegory. There are also intrigue, murder, illicit love and a violent climax.

Wilson imagines a time when politi-



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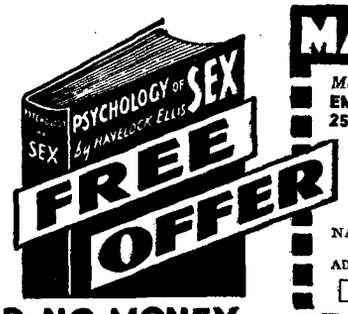

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cal corruption and other unpleasant features of our culture have attained to full flowering. His main emphasis is on the political lineup in 1960. The two-party system has disappeared. In its place is a motley collection of totalitarian groups: the "Children of Peter," which takes its orders from Madrid, the Reds who now take theirs from Belgrade, the "Yankee Elitists," and other formations of indigenous fascists. The most sinister group is the Teniakisites, headed by Luke Teniakis, an ex-delicatessen keeper who rules the country through his "Relief Bureau," his highly placed puppets and a carefully planned campaign of terror. These are the publisher's most formidable adversaries—his creed is "individualistic idealism"—and the threat to expose them leads to his death.

That Wilson was troubled and uncertain as to what he intended this allegorical thriller to signify seems clear enough. This in itself is remarkable for a writer whose work is above all notable for clarity of conception. It has always seemed to me, also, that no other critic is more honest than he in saying exactly what he means to say.

"The Little Blue Light" fails as political and social commentary not only because the theme is banal but because it is demonstrably superficial, not to say wrongheaded. The future is the child of the past, true enough, but surely something more than a swollen replica of it. Neither biological nor social history follows straight lines of descent; if we had evolved biologically by Orwell's law or Wilson's, we should still be protozoa, though as large by now as circus tents; and if social evolution obeyed Wilson's corollary of Newton's law of motion we might, I suppose, all be Communists. It is one thing to expose *present* vices by inflating *present* foibles; quite another, as neither Wilson nor Orwell seems to understand, to assume that a caricature of the present affords a socially useful preview of the future.

What is further implied by these considerations is that Wilson's play, though carrying the axe and rods of satire, and pretending to its formidable authority, is not a satire at all. It is a work of anguish and of prophesy; a warning of evil at which no decent person can afford to sneer; a jeremiad; but not satire. The difference is that a satirist does not really mean us to think that his grotesqueries will come to pass (you make a modest proposal that small children be regarded as edible, not because you think that the practice is imminent, but to show that a society which regards starvation with supreme indifference is as wicked as if it butchered its young); Orwell and Wilson, on the contrary, are only half jesting in their prophecies of doom. What they are saying is not, "Look, reader, upon a caricature of yourself," but "Look, reader, at the path you are travelling and at your destination." It is the despair pervading the prophecy that distinguishes it from satire, that nullifies the constructive purpose to which the humor and underlying hopefulness of good satire give nourishment.

Finally, the most striking defect is the lack of a general psychological approach to the social disorders of our period. In the downfall of American society it is the super-racketeer who takes over, the apotheosis of our degrading worship of power. Gangsterism of the vice-cum-politics type, to which our high-pressure assembly-line environment is particularly hospitable, is the curse visited upon us for having jilted the old gods. But gangsterism is a symptom of social decay, not a cause; and the cause remains to be explained in more analytic terms than any here found. Most of the abuses of the world, according to Frank, the publisher, are not occasioned by political systems: "They're just special cases of human weakness." That Cotton Mather ascribed the evils of society to the wickedness of the human heart is understandable; it is less understandable that none of Wilson's characters comes forth with a better explanation.

JUDAISM RECONSIDERED

REFLECTIONS OF A WONDERING JEW, by Morris Raphael Cohen (The Beacon Press; $2.50).

THE READER of this book, which is unfortunately a compilation of fragments rather than a well-knit treatise, must meet two surprises with the requisite nonchalance. He will certainly wonder who could have chosen so vapid and tactless a title, and he may also meditate on why a great philosopher should have preferred for the nonce to be something else. Cohen's was as keen a mind as American academic life has known. No one was ever better insured against having his intellectual pockets picked by amateurs. But his weakness was inability to distinguish historical myth from spiritual mystery, and it is just this power which characterizes the books about the Jewish question which I have personally found most helpful. Milton Steinberg, for example, was not always cool and dispassionate, yet his writing on this theme has a depth and a prodigal richness of feeling which are missing in Professor Cohen's reflections. If one turns to the very best of the available literature—for example, the writings of Martin Buber—the disparity is even more impressive.

Cohen's major thesis is that no one analysis of the Jew's position in the modern world is wholly adequate. This he buttresses with the quite obvious truth that Jews themselves differ. Akin in this respect to everybody else, they have come up with a great diversity of points of view. This lack of unity is comforting to liberals who find life most agreeable when people do not agree. Cohen himself did not, on the one hand, believe that Zion was a basket designed to hold all Jewish eggs. On the other hand, he did not agree that it was Jewish faith which decides Jewishness. I gather that for him the question was whether an individual claimed descent from the particular Near Eastern folk-group which for a variety of reasons has maintained a singular identity throughout history.

This is a beguiling theory, in behalf of which a great deal can no doubt be said. The trouble with it is that any attempt to reduce the problem to a genealogical table will retain a flavor of racism, than which nothing could be more repulsive. Would it not be far better to say that the Jewish roots are in religion, however effectively severed from them an individual may be? Again, Cohen felt deeply that there is a notable consonance between the American commitment to cultural pluralism and the traditional Jewish desire for a latitude of views. Much could be said in support of this opinion. I wish I could be wholly sanguine about it. The Statue of Liberty is indeed a great symbol. But one ought to bear in mind that it is

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out on an island with salt water swirling round about. We may legitimately hope that our nation will remain generous and tolerant without feeling that this hope is necessarily the rock on which one should build one's whole estate.

Cohen's reflections on historical and critical matters were always incisive. The book contains a very good piece, "Philosophies of Jewish History," in which a scholarly consideration of the basic position leads to the conclusion that the past is worth studying but that the big assignment is "to reflect critically on what things we shall regard as good and what we shall banish from our hearts as evil." Unfortunately it is not made clear what this good and this evil are. There is also an interesting chapter about Maimonides, and still another—this time rather superficial—about "The Jew in Science." The rest of the volume contains searching and, now and then, unusually pertinent reviews of books about Judaism.

One concludes that the real message of this collection of essays and comments is that since Jews will be around for a good while, the proper thing to do is to sponsor research which will make their significance and destiny clearer. A great part of such an inquiry has been carried to a conclusion since Cohen wrote. And it seems certain that his contribution to the cause was the stimulation of studies, over which his genius asked a blessing in advance. That was no slight service to his people or to the rest of mankind. GEORGE N. SHUSTER

George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, was recently appointed State Commissioner for Bavaria.

PROGRESS AS EXPERIENCE

PATTERNS OF PROGRESS, by Horace M. Kallen (Columbia University Press; $1.75).

MODERN PROPHETS of progress like de Condorcet, Marx and Spencer have shaped the concept by various patterns —mechanical, dialectic and evolutionary. Although these patterns differ in many respects, in all of them it is Man, rather than men, who moves toward a goal; it is society that advances rather than individual human beings. In contrast to these famous historical views of progress, Horace Kallen argues, in the Matchette Foundation Lectures delivered at Columbia University, that progress is a personal experience. The authentic thing for all men, he insists, is their concrete experience. Characteristic features of genuine progress are, therefore, "the feel of progress, of barriers passed, of resistance overcome, and of a way opened ahead."

Progress as personal experience involves hazards; and the greatest of these is death. What meaning can death have for progress? Kallen's reflections on this hoary topic comprise the best section of the book and constitute one of the most suggestive analyses of this subject. First he effectively disposes of the claim for immortality in the Judeo-Christian tradition, then indicates the fruitless compensatory illusions of the classic philosophies, and finally, after showing the futility of the agonized attitude of the contemporary existentialists, comes to the conclusion that death is complete extinction. For those who do not need consolation "the living of life is enough." The values of life, Kallen maintains, are intrinsic, and no power can undermine their validity for good or ill. Values are "consequential functions *within* the human enterprise," and final extinction is irrelevant to their sovereignty. Courage in living is the essential wisdom; not consolation in dying.

Kallen's analysis is written with clarity, beauty and subtle insight. His general attitude is naturalistic, humanistic, melioristic. He maintains in his own way James's emphasis on the supreme value of the individual, Dewey's insistence on the importance of means, and Holmes's stress on the centrality of function in living. The only limitation of this excellent discussion is that the sources of power for a progressive life are not fully exploited. Although after convincingly rejecting any help from supernaturalism and rightly emphasizing the fruitful power of science, Kallen almost completely ignores the help that might be expected to come from a coöperative civilization and from art. Surely in an enterprise as significant as this one no sources of power should be overlooked.

Y. H. KRIKORIAN

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